2.Serano--ü€,D-5 (1894, 1887-1888) 1894 SP? Bacairi SP?

/v/

Foreword

114
[976]

ãma! -- you!
ña! -- I!

So runs the simple formula with which people introduce themselves to each other on the Kuliseu, and I would gladly spare the kind reader what follows, if I did not also have to bid him to greet my "younger brothers," my companions on the journey, and, in addition, have a few other things at heart.

[601]

For "younger brother" and "cousin" the Indians have one and the same word; thus, their designation truly fits our special artist, Wilhelm von den Steinen of Düsseldorf, in its fullest sense, for, according to our concepts, he is my cousin, to be sure, but he is commonly taken for my younger brother. He rowed down the Schingú /Xingu/ with me as early as 1884.

The second man, Dr. Paul Ehrenreich of Berlin, was likewise no newcomer to Brazil. In Espírito Santo he had already become closely acquainted with the Botokuden /Botocudo/; after the completion of our joint undertaking, he had traveled the Araguay /Araguaia/ and the Purus and thus today has probably seen more of the interior of the mighty realm than any other German traveler. He is to be thanked for the photographs and the body measurements.

The recording of the route and the astronomical findings, along with geological investigations, were undertaken by Professor Dr. Peter Vogel of Munich. In 1882-83, on the German Polar Expedition to South Georgia, whose deputy leader he was, we two shared the cramped cabin in joy and sorrow for a year; in 1887 he again felt a powerful impulse to set out, and so he was willing to carry on in new territory the work of Dr. Otto Claus, our /vi/ Antarctic colleague and the geographer of the first Schingú expedition.

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ter, could occupy the lying-in room at the home of the parents-in-law. Although the people lived in monogamy and the father was the head of the family, the mother's brother was still regarded as equal to the father as a protector of the child and in any case, if the father died, assumed all responsibilities until the children were grown. He, not the mother, was in charge of their property.

Among all the tribes, older and younger brothers had different designations. The younger brother was on the same level as the cousin and had a name in common with him. The Bakairí called me "older brother" and later in the third village also "grandfather"; the Mehinakú called me "uncle" (mother's brother). My traveling companions were always called my "younger brothers or cousins" and were also addressed in this way by the Indians themselves.

Marriages were concluded without wedding celebrations, the parents, first the fathers, then the mothers, talk matters over, and the father of the bride receives /332/ arrows and stone axes; the bridegroom must also work with him in the clearing "to show that he knows how," he hangs his hammock above that of the girl, and everything is in order. That older men have young wives and younger men older wives was clearly pronounced only on the Paranatinga, but not on the Kulisehu (this prerogative of the old that appears only with the decline of the tribe). At least the few matrimonial unions with which I became more closely acquainted in Maigíri were evenly matched. Divorce among the Bakairí takes place without any trouble, it was said, even if the husband is not in favor of it. "The woman leaves, perhaps he will catch her again."

I have spoken earlier about the division of labor between the sexes; cf. pp. 216 ff. The woman did not occupy an undignified position. The husband let her carry a larger load than he himself carried, he kept her away from the flute house where the men consulted, smoked, celebrated festivals, and where strangers were lodged, he was her lord and master -- and he did what she wanted. When Martius says that the woman does not occupy an inferior position "in spite of slavish subordination as a result of

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took a new name. In order to explain this, it is by no means necessary to assume that the "soul" of the father entered into the son each time. It is exactly the same in the Karaiben. imu is egg or testicles or father or child, the latter among several tribes already differentiated phonetically:

Iparucoto /Puricoto/ imu "egg," Bakaïrí "testicles," Tamanako "father," Makuschi /Macusi/ imum "seed." With the pronominal suffix -ru, we find imu-ru, "child," among various tribes: Kumanagoto /Cumanagoto/ umu "my father," amo "your father," Nahuquá umí-ru "my child," amí-ru "your child." Naturally, it comes about everywhere that qualifying additions are supplied or words originally identical deviate from one another phonetically, with the connection forgotten. Thus, Kamayurá has ye-tup "my father," upí "egg," ye-teapí "my testicles"; Aueto has i-tupí "my testicles," a-upí "his eggs", the lingoa geral has capyí "testicles," copí "egg." Among the Bakaïrí "child" and "little" are imêri, "the child of the chief" pîma imêri; we may translate it as either "the child of the chief" or "the little chief" as we wish and do not realize in connection with the latter form, which we might apply jokingly to the son, that for the Indian the child is really only the little chief himself, a small edition of the big one. For our feeling, too, this conception is strange and scarcely comprehensible in the case where a girl is involved. But even the girl is the little father and not the little mother; she is made only by the father. In Bakaïrí there are no special words for "son" and "daughter," but rather, if the distinction is required the sex is added. "pîma imêri" may mean the daughter as well as the son of the chief. The only daughter of the chief is the heiress of the property and rank, both of which, along with her own property, go to her husband.

The little father comes into the world, the umbilical cord is cut, the big father fasts at least until the wound is healed, and with this the new little human being may be regarded as an independent being. The father would surely not observe any precautionary measures if the little one immediately /338/ ran about as healthy as a little chick, but it bleeds and is in danger since it

/365 cont./

plants? Indeed, the Kayabí /Cayabí/ appear when it is still night on earth, before the sun has been fetched by Keri!

I should be happy if I could answer the question even somewhat satisfactorily. Antonio was able to enumerate for me the names of his ancestors up to his great-great-great-grandfather Matukara who was supposed to have lived near the salto of the Paranatinga. This, if one figures 30 years per generation, would go back to the middle of the eighteenth century. Assuming the reliability of the statement, we would have what would probably be the natural limit in the case of a tribe without writing and without any particular carriers of tradition, an oral tradition that extends personally to the grandfather and, since the latter likewise /366/ could have been instructed by his grandfather, to the grandfather of the grandfather. If, mindful of the various life spans, we allow two more generations, we shall probably have reached the limit of credibility. None of our Indians doubts that with these ancestors we arrive at the time when Keri and Kame fetched the sun. To be sure, there were Bakairí before that and Kayabí were also already present before the sky and earth were interchanged. Since I am inclined to think the best of the good Bakairí, I believe after all that we shall be completely fair to them if we have them living on the Paranatinga since time immemorial and have them learn there about manioca and tobacco.

Now are Keri and Kame the names of two specific chiefs who really lived several centuries ago and who are now exaggeratedly credited with having regulated the course of the sun and providing the Bakairí and their neighbors with sleep, fire, rivers, etc.? The history of our hunter tribes living for centuries as extended families is not very well suited for creating personalities whose names could not be forgotten. But aside from this, if only the one name "moon" existed, one might still be able to imagine a real ancestor with this name, but it is asking too much for us to assume two with the names "sun" and "moon."

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brought about by the gold-seeker Correa. The expeditions in search of the fabulous gold mines of the Martyrs were able to cross the Paranatinga most conveniently here and wanted to use the canoes of the Bakairí as well as to obtain food supplies from them. Antonio was born toward the end of the fifties, at the earliest, in Limoeiro, a small settlement.

The ancestors of Antonio offer a chronological handle. His father, Sesertari, also had a Portuguese name, his grandfather, like an Indian in the first Batovy village, was called Karawaiko, his great-grandfather Yahauha, his great-great-grandfather Kupare, and the last one whose name Antonio still knew was his great-great-great-grandfather, Mariukara. The latter lived near the salto of the Paranatinga. If we estimate 30 years per generation, the succession might go back to before the middle of the eighteenth century. Caetano, probably born around 1790, was still supposed to be able to call by name six or seven ancestors, which I unfortunately could no longer confirm, so that his genealogy would reach back to the middle of the seventeenth century. Caetano's father was born on the Paranatinga, above the salto, it was his grandfather who was born on the salto itself. In any case, the statements of the Bakairí agree perfectly with the report of Antonio Pires that the Bakairí were in contact with the tribes on the upper course of the Cuyabá at the beginning of the previous century.

It is not unimportant to determine as much of the tradition as possible, insofar as it does not yet appear as legend and fairy tale, because it is very desirable to know whether the present-day West Bakairí, the inhabitants of the Tapajos source-region, or the East Bakairí in the source region of the Schingú/Xingu/ occupy the older habitations.

/391/ The West Bakairí definitely put the original home of the entire tribe at the salto of the Paranatinga, so that our Karaiben /Carib/ tribe would originally have belonged to the Tapajos. But the western source-rivers of the Schingú and the eastern ones of the Paranatinga lie so close together that it is a matter of pure chance where the tribes moving downstream arrive. "One of the grandfathers" of Caetano was slain in the forest by

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601 In their kinship system the Bakairí distinguished parallel
605 cousins (peigo and nore or ri and ita, for men or women, respectively for male or female Ego) from cross cousins (nama and imiago or enamiu and imudu, for men and women, respectively for male or female Ego). The former were
601 identified with brothers and sisters, respectively. The term
604 referring to the father, chogo, was extended to the father's brother, and the term referring to the mother, niko, was extended to the mother's sister. On the other hand, the mother's brother, kogo, and the father's sister, ingui, got special
601 designations. There were special terms for male or female Ego, in Ego's generation (as we have already seen), and in the first descending generation. Thus the children of male Ego and those of Ego's brother were called imeri, without distinction of sex, while the children of Ego's sister were called inkau and uasi, respectively for the boy and girl. For female Ego, her children, as well as the children of Ego's sister, were called imeri, while Ego's brother's children were uadoin and uasi, respectively for boy and girl. In the second ascending
603 generation, the grandparents were distinguished according to sex, being called taio and nigo, respectively, for man and woman. In the second descending generation a single term, imeri, designated all individuals.

582 Marriage between cross cousins was common but not
606 preferential. According to the data we obtained, there do not
591 seem to have been among the Bakairí any special rules concerning residence or taboos referring to the father-in-law or mother-
595 in-law, or moieties or clans. Marriage was usually monogamous, although polygamous unions were allowed. Judging by the Xinguano tribes, it is probable that such polygamous unions assumed the form of a soccocate.

784 /263/ The life cycle of the Bakairí was characterized by a series of seclusions, or uanki ("confinement"), during which individuals were protected against the numerous supernatural dangers that surrounded them.

There appears to be no evidence that the Bacairi had clans or moieties. The kinship nomenclature is of the Iroquois merging type with parallel kin merged with lineal kin and with separate terms for mother's brother and father's sister and for cross cousins. (See chart 3.) The kinship terms in ego's generation and in the children's generation are distinct for men and women. Beyond the bar prohibiting marriage between anyone called brother, sister, parent, or child, there were no special rules governing marriage. Cross-cousin marriage was common but not preferred. There were no residence rules or avoidances of the mother-in-law or father-in-law. As the Bacairi lived in large communal houses, marriages often took place between young people brought up in the same house. After marriage they would take over a section of the house as their private quarters. The Bacairi say that families could move to another house with the consent of the house elder. Although polygyny was permissible marriages were generally monogamous. The father and the father's brother had great authority and were highly respected. Younger brothers were not permitted to joke or play rough with their eldest brother. The mother's brother and father's sister were also respected but less than the eldest brother. The relationship between brothers and sisters was one of great respect, the informant saying that incest was unthinkable.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (ERAŠÉLLI)

Pregnancy (*ewáwa*) was recognized as being caused by sexual intercourse. In advanced pregnancy a woman was not permitted to eat the flesh of such large animals as deer, capybara, or tapir. When the time of delivery drew near a portion of the house was screened off, where the woman gave birth and remained secluded until the normal menses began. The expectant mother was assisted by her mother and other female relatives, a shaman being called only in cases of difficult birth.

A woman gave birth in a squatting position, the midwife holding her under the arms and gently pressing her stomach. Sometimes the stomach and back of the woman were bathed with poultices made from boiled cotton leaves. It was the duty of the woman's mother to cut the umbilical cord

BACAIRÍ

BACAIRI